Toda

1: Rivers
231, 233, 825

[See category 234 for complete information about Toda buffaloes]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER VI

BUFFALO MIGRATIONS

AT certain seasons of the year it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the *ti* should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants.

There are two chief reasons[1] for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places. During the dry season, lasting from about December to March, the pasturage around the villages where the Todas usually live becomes very scanty, and the buffaloes are taken to places where it is more abundant. Many of these places are in or near the Kundahs, where the rainfall is greater than over the rest of the hills, and others are scattered here and there about the hills in spots where, owing to favourable conditions, the ground is less parched than elsewhere. At other seasons of the year it may happen that the grazing in the neighbourhood of a village becomes exhausted, and it becomes necessary to take the buffaloes to another place.

The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom. Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr

[1] The buffaloes may also move from one village to another if sickness should break out among them, but I do not know whether this would become the same ceremonial occasion as in the other kinds of migration.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234x Some of these places, such as the villages of Pied-
221 and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely
233 unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits.
773 Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nas-
783 miòdr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated
796 in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas.
621 It is visited once a year by the *wursulir* of Kars for about a month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it is in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called *irskidithbutnol* or *irnödrthnol*.

Migrations of the Village Buffaloes

[124]
234x My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration
221 from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete.
796 The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

234* the same
796 procedure is repeated with the *ertatmani*, which are strung on a piece of bamboo and hung on another piece of bamboo which projects from the wall on the *ertat* side of the dairy. Then milk is put on the *patatmani* and buttermilk on the *ertatmani* as usual.

[778]

FIG. 32.—THE 'NEURZÜLNKARS' OF KIUDR, BY THE SIDE OF WHICH THE 'ERTATMANI' ARE LAID.

MIGRATION OF THE TI BUFFALOES

234* I obtained a very full account of the migration of the
233 buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* and will first give an account of
221 the proceedings for this herd.
796 The Toda year begins during October with the ceremony of *teutütusthchi* (see Chap. XIII) and at this time the buffaloes should be standing at Mòdr, near Paikara. Soon after this ceremony, the herd goes to Anto, the most important and sacred of the *ti* places. They stay here for a month and then go to Majòdr, not far from Makurti Peak, where they

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

stay during the dry season, stopping about three months or longer, according to the nature of the weather. It is often not until May is reached that the buffaloes return to Mòdr and stay there till August, when they cross the Paikara river to the two dairies, Òdrtho and Kudreiil, on the opposite bank. The *tiir* stay at Òdrtho and the *warsir* at Kudreiil for a month and then both return to Mòdr.

In 1902 this plan[1] was very much disturbed. In order to go from Mòdr to Òdrtho and Kudreiil the herds and their attendants have to cross the river, and under no circumstances is the *palol* allowed to cross by the bridge. He usually watches his opportunity till the river is low enough at a certain ford to allow him to cross, but the summer of 1902 was unusually wet and the river was never sufficiently low to allow the passage, and in consequence Òdrtho and Kudreiil were not visited in that year.

Later it was arranged that the migration to Anto should take place on November 2nd. I was told that I might accompany the procession for part of the way, and was looking forward greatly to the occasion, as it was evident that it was my only chance of seeing and photographing the contents of the dairy. As the day approached, the migration was postponed because Teitnir, who was celebrating the funeral ceremonies of his wife and was therefore *ichchil*, had crossed the way by which the procession would have to pass. The ceremony was next arranged for November 23rd, but was then further postponed till the 30th. This was the last Sunday before the day on which I intended to leave the hills, and again I made arrangements to see the proceedings. No sooner had I done so than I was told that the procession was postponed for a week and was to take place on the day after I had left Ootacamund. I at once altered my plans and arranged to see the procession on December 7th. A new obstacle at once intervened, and I was told that the journey to Anto was deferred indefinitely, and, as I learnt afterwards from Samuel, the buffaloes did not go to Anto at all that year, but went direct from Mòdr to Majòdr on Wednesday, January 7th. All this occurred after the misfortunes had happened to

1 [of buffalo migration --Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

[123] which I have already referred—misfortunes which were believed to be the direct consequence of my investigations—and it seemed quite clear that the various postponements and final abandonment of the journey to Anto were due to the fear that some misfortune might befall the sacred herd if I saw the procession.

It will be noticed that the herd of the Nòdrs *ti* may pass the greater part of the year at Mòdr, which is not one of the three most ancient dairies of the *ti*. It has become the most frequented because it is the most convenient, occupying a more central situation than most of the other dairies. Majòdr is also not one of the most ancient dairies, but is visited purely on account of grazing necessities. Anto and Òdrtho, the two out of the three places given originally by Teikirzi according to the legend, are visited not from necessity, but on account of their sanctity, and, as we have seen, it may happen under exceptional circumstances that neither place may be visited and the whole year passed at Mòdr and Majòdr.

It is only when going to Anto and Òdrtho that some of the most remarkable features of the buffalo migration ceremonies are carried out, and if these dairies should fall into disuse, as would seem not improbable, these features of the migration ceremonies would certainly vanish.

As we have seen, the migration to the relatively unimportant dairy of Majòdr may take place on a Wednesday, but when going to the more important places a Sunday must be chosen. The orthodox day is the first Sunday after the new moon, but so far as I could gather from the various days appointed for the migration during my visit there is no very strict adherence to the rule. A week before the migration a second *kaltmokh* is appointed who goes through the customary ordination ceremony. It is also arranged that a Melgars man (*mòrol*) shall come to carry some of the contents of the dairy. When the buffaloes are going either to Anto or Òdrtho it is absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* shall be present, who goes in front of both *palol* and *kaltmokh* and has certain well defined duties. The procession may also be accompanied by any Toda who has no *ichchil* and these people may help in driving the buffaloes and in carrying the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

man stays only one *punrs*—*i.e.*, he leaves the *ti mad* on the day following the migration. 234x 221

The foregoing account applies to the Nòdrs *ti*. The general procedure is the same at the migration of other herds, but the ceremonial is, in general, less elaborate. At no other *ti* is there anything corresponding to the ceremonies in which the *kaltmokh* plays so important a part, and at no other *ti* is it absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* should take part in the procession, though, as a matter of fact, he usually also leads the way at the migrations of the Pan *ti*. 796

At the Kars *ti* the buffaloes pass the greater part of the year at Makars. They usually go to Neradr, where they stay about a month, and then go to Kòn for the dry season, returning to Makars in April. Sometimes they again stop at Neradr on their way from Kòn to Makars. It is probable that when the sacred dairy of Enòdr was still in use the ceremonial was more elaborate than it is at present. In the legend of Kwoto (see Chap. IX) an account is given of a ceremonial which occurred in former times during the migration from Kòn to Enòdr, and it is possible that this persisted until Enòdr was given up as a *ti mad*. 234x 221 233 621 796

The herds of the Pan *ti* usually migrate with those of the Kars *ti*. They stand during the greater part of the year at Kudòdr, near Makars, and go to Neradr and Kòn as the dry season approaches.

In the case of the Pan *ti*, it seems that the bells travel on the necks of buffaloes; the *mani* called Kòsi on the neck of a buffalo called Kòsi, Pongg on a buffalo called Enmars, and Keituzan on one called Kòjiu. In this procession a *mòrol* goes first, followed by the *tars palol*, the *wars palol*, and the two *kaltmokh* in order.

At the present time there are no migrations of the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* or of the Nidrsi *ti*, and I have no information about the past. At Pursas, the present dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, there is a stone called *neurszilnkars*. I was told that nothing was done to it in connexion with the migrations of the buffaloes, but that it was rubbed with clarified butter and milk whenever the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) was performed at the *ti*. [778]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

but see that both convenience and good habits have been consulted in following these rules. CHAP. VIII.

Before eating, each member of the family takes a little of the food in his fingers, and raising it to the forehead says Swâmi! Swâmi![7] then places it on the ground as a present to bhumi tai[8] or mother earth. After meals these offerings are swept out of doors.

Before the Englishman came to the Nilagiris, and colonised the Todas' land, the country was full of game; hares, peafowl, partridge, jungle fowl, and numerous small birds, filled the secluded woods: deer of sorts, bison, and jungle-sheep roamed their open pastures: the tiger and leopard were common: and packs of the wild dog—chen nai[9]—running mute, hunted the largest deer with the unerring certainty of fate. The Toda buffalos, half-wild, had learnt to defend themselves and their young by tactics, the offspring of their bravery and skill; forming a rough triangular phalanx, with the courageous and strong bulls at apex and flanks, and the females and young in the hollow of the base, they would face the common enemy, and charging him in a body, gore and trample him under foot. The Todas, confident in the prowess of these animals, leave them to be herded by mere striplings armed with light wands; knowing that the amimals, and the children under their protection, would be perfectly safe.

Yet in the face of these attractions of sport: in the presence of considerable danger: and with the example of the brute creation before them, they have not adopted a weapon, even one so simple as a spear. They neither make nets, nor do they construct traps or pitfalls. They do not employ any of

[7] Swâmi = *lord*.

[8] Bhumi tai = *earth mother*. It appears likely that both the words and the practice have been copied from the Badagas.

[9] Chen = *red*, nai = *dog*. May not the French *chien* be derived from chen = *the red (one)*?

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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133

TODA BUFFALOES IN KRAAL.

[facing p. 117]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, numbering, according to the latest census returns, 807 individuals, which inhabits the Nīlgiri plateau. I shall, therefore, content myself with recording the rambling notes made by myself during occasional visits to Ootacamund and Paikāra, supplemented by extracts from the book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and other pioneers of the Nīlgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi-domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products (butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a less extent than in bygone days before the establishment of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes, yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral life. But I have met with more than one man who had served, or who was still serving Government in the modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of

* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire-place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, somewhat like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

351 343 [342] [193] [354] 417 233 [422] 487 [562] [234] [562]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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778 following day, the nephew went alone to the spot where
823 the honey was hidden, and found, to his disappointment,
539 that the honey was leaking through the bottom of the bamboo measures, which were transformed into two snakes. Terrified at the sight thereof, he ran away, but
[825] the snakes pursued him (may be they were hamadryads, which have the reputation of pursuing human beings). After running a few minutes, he espied a hare (*Lepus nigricollis*) running across his course, and, by a skilful manœuvre, threw his body-cloth over it. Mistaking it for a man, the snakes followed in pursuit of the hare, which, being very fleet of foot, managed to reach the sun, which became obscured by the hoods of the reptiles.
[821] This fully accounts for the solar eclipse. The honey, which leaked out of the vessels, became converted into the Paikāra river.

233 In connection with the migrations of the herds of
166 buffaloes, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "At certain seasons of the year, it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the ti should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants. There are two chief reasons for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places . . . . . The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly
[796] important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom." For the following note on a buffalo migration which he came across, I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Wilson. "During the annual migration of buffaloes to the Kundahs, and when they were approaching the bridle-path leading from

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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Avalanchē to Sispāra, I witnessed an interesting custom. 233
The Toda family had come to a halt on the far side of the 166
path; the females seated themselves on the grass, and awaited the passing of the sacred herd. This herd, which had travelled by a recognised route across country, has to cross the bridle-path some two or three hundred yards above the Avalanchē-Sispāra sign-post. Both the ordinary and sacred herd were on the move together. The former passed up the Sispāra path, while the latter crossed in a line, and proceeded slightly down the hill, eventually crossing the stream and up through the shōlas over the steep hills on the opposite side of the valley. As soon as the sacred herd had crossed the bridle-path, the Toda men, having put down all their household utensils, went to where the women and girls were sitting, and carried them, one by one, over the place where the buffaloes had passed, depositing them on the path above. One of the men told me that the [562]
females are not allowed to walk over the track covered [778]
by the sacred herd, and have to be carried whenever it is necessary to cross it. This herd has a recognised tract when migrating, and is led by the old buffaloes, who appear to know the exact way."

The tenure under which lands are held by the Todas 423
is summed up as follows by Mr. R. S. Benson in his report on the revenue settlement of the Nilgiris, 1885. "The earliest settlers, and notably Mr. Sullivan, strongly advocated the claim of the Todas to the absolute proprietary right to the plateau [as lords of the soil]; but another school, led by Mr. Lushington, has strongly combated these views, and apparently regarded the Todas as merely occupiers under the ryotwari system in force generally in the Presidency. From the earliest times 427
the Todas have received from the cultivating Badagas 648

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

about 50, including some wives who were Tamilian by origin, and all the children.[4] In 1932 Miss Ling returned to England after fifty years of missionary life. The Toda Christians who had turned to her for settlement of all their difficulties now found themselves without strong and sympathetic guidance, and dissatisfaction with those who succeeded her and quarrels among themselves, as well as difficulty in meeting their financial obligations to the mission and to Miss Ling herself, who had aided them with large loans from her own means, produced in the community what may only be regarded as disintegration. In 1938 Miss Ling felt compelled to return to India and her influence had already begun to heal the breaches before I lost contact with the community.

A few of the men have taken to other economic pursuits than agriculture. One is a chauffeur, one a policeman, another was apprenticed to a tailor. [kuaRo:n] (34, Kwodron) showed promise in school and later studied at the Madras Christian College in Madras, where he learned English with remarkable correctness and fluency (he was my best interpreter). He was employed as a clerk in various government offices in Ootacamund but got into financial difficulties of a somewhat disreputable sort, and finally to extricate himself became a convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. [kanfuɪsodj] (14, Kunpuradi) has been a chauffeur but is now an agriculturalist. His English is rather defective, but he made a remarkably good interpreter and informant in investigations into ethnological matters, since his interest in tribal affairs is intense, and in the song-technique of the Todas, with which he is thoroughly familiar, being himself the quasi-official composer of the Toda Christians. Most of the members of the community work industriously at their agricultural life and, since the Nilgiris specialize in growing potatoes for the markets in the plains and as far north as Bombay, economic life is fairly secure and permits a standard which is in many ways higher than that of the tribe and than that of many other Christian communities of South India. The women continue to do Toda embroidery for sale through the mission.[5]

Economically, the Christian community has had to separate itself from the tribe. One link however remains. The pastures of the Christians become poor seasonally and at such times cattle which are not giving milk are often pastured with the tribe's herds in the dry-weather pastures. The man to whom such cattle are entrusted is recompensed with a small fee. Frequently the same course is adopted with young

[4] This figure is only a guess and probably a slight overestimate. The census figure of 597 for the Todas in the year 1931 included 27 Christian Todas, according to the enumerators, although the mission claimed 37. The Christian community has undoubtedly grown since then by the addition of converts and of births.

[5] See my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, JAOS 57. 277–289.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

animals which have not yet reached the milch stage and which otherwise would unprofitably use up the community's scanty pasturage. It seems also that the Christians still retain some of their original feeling that wealth is to be measured by possession of cattle. They tend to acquire more and more head of cattle and because of the pressure on their own pasture area the superfluous beasts are kept with the tribe almost permanently or in alternation with unproductive animals. In these cases the man who provides pasturage gets the produce, milk and the resulting products. In all cases when cattle are pastured on tribal lands, it seems that it is the buffalo that is so treated; cows are kept at the Christian colonies, since the tribal Todas do not own cows.

The Todas live in economic symbiosis with the other aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiris, viz. the Kotas and the Kurumbas, and with the Badagas, who settled in the Nilgiris perhaps five centuries ago. The mechanism of the economic interchanges has not yet been described in detail,[6] but an outline of the Toda relations with the Kotas will be given here. The Kotas are blacksmiths and potters, and all the Toda needs in these departments are supplied by them, as well as music for the Toda funerals. In return the Kotas receive the carcasses of all Toda buffaloes that die or that are slaughtered at funerals, as well as certain other minor perquisites, such as cane for house-building, bamboo churning-sticks, and a certain amount of clarified butter. The interchanges are made between individuals, who are in a permanent and usually hereditary relationship to each other, referred to by the Todas as [keɾ], by the Kotas as [keL]. The relationship includes also the right of the Kota to obtain by purchase from his Toda opposite number such buffaloes and buffalo calves as he may need for his own economic purposes. In most cases one Toda has several Kotas who supply him, the relative numbers of the tribes and the Kotas' similar relationships with the Badagas making such an arrangement necessary. This economic relationship has broken down formally so far as the Christian Todas are concerned. But in spite of this, there is a tendency among the Christian Todas to retain the relationship with their hereditary Kota partners. They obtain their iron tools and pots from these Kotas and recompense them on a more strictly commercial basis than the original one. *E.g.* [kanfuɯsodj] retains such relationships with the Kota who was his father's partner and has in addition formed a new relationship with another Kota. He at least still uses the term [keɾ] in referring to his relationship with these two men, though my Kota linguistic informant was insistent that the Kota

[6] Reference may be made to Rivers, chap. 27. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has made more extensive notes on the subject and it is hoped that his account will soon appear.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

He also gives a feast. If the father is not alive, the duty devolves on his brothers, real or classificatory, in his immediate family, then on the woman's brothers, real or classificatory, in the immediate family, then on the generation of her brothers' sons. This obligation, both in regard to "bribe" and to "dowry," is still maintained in most cases between the two communities. The missionaries in this case approve, at least, Miss Ling approves. About ten years ago the Christian [kišker] gave one buffalo to [keːnoʒ] (21, Keinodz), who is not a Christian, as "bribe" for the latter's classificatory sister [sodamut] (Sadamut), who was already a Christian; [keːnoʒ] then gave three buffaloes as "dowry." Previously the non-Christian [idjoːn] had given "dowry" for his Christian sister [lamdiːfj] (20, Numdeivi) when she was married to [kišker], the "bribe" having been given by the latter. When [kišker]'s father's sister [tuarfuːemj] (59, Turvalami) was married to [piθjoːnaːf] (64, Puthion), both the latter being non-Christians, a "bribe" was given to [kišker] by the latter and [kišker] gave three buffaloes as "dowry." [kuaroːn], who got his wife from the Todas by carrying her off (the [ter] pattern), did not give a "bribe" or get "dowry," though it is clear that the tribal patterns demanded it.

We find then that the tribe, though it has some resentment against the Christian converts from its ranks and treats them in some respects as outcastes, yet retains with them some rather important relationships. In marriage affairs the Christian Todas tend to be treated, without compulsion on either side, as if they were still members of the tribe. In funeral matters the tribe tries to demand that the Christians should fulfil their obligations, though the Christians are on the whole unwilling to meet them. If we look at the Badagas, we find that Christian converts from their ranks are outcastes and that the original community has no relations at all with them. No Kota has ever become a Christian. When we go to the more classical Hindu areas, we find from missionary accounts at least (few other accounts have ever been given), that in many cases the Christian converts are entirely outcaste and that no relations are maintained with the castes of origin other than that of extreme hostility on the part of the caste (the picture is perhaps not so simple as this, but accounts are defective). Can any explanation be given for the peculiar features in the Toda case? It is possibly to be found in the general situation. The areas in which the tribe and the Christians live is comparatively small, the two communities see much of one another necessarily, the Christian community still retains cattle as a necessary part of its economic life and so has a community of interest with the tribe and moreover has had to depend on the tribe in part for

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

its pasturage, to the economic advantage of the latter. Moreover, the tribe has come to depend on the mission for the sale of its women's needlework. Perhaps another factor is to be seen in the small size of the tribe. Every convert is related somehow to practically every Toda in the tribe and still uses the appropriate terms of address. The Badagas show a contrast here, for in a community of over 40,000 the great majority of Badagas that a convert will meet will be strangers and unrelated to him. It would be unwise to push any argument based on this feeling of relationship between the two Toda communities, and yet one suspects that the matter has its weight. Finally, if one must, it is possible to fall back on characterizations of the Todas as "a friendly people" [18] or as a tolerant people. Their hauteur and self-sufficient bearing has often been remarked, and as a complementary side of their character there is a lack of fanaticism in them. They know that they are a peculiar people (in anthropological terms, aberrant) and recognise that others, even if they are Todas, must be allowed their peculiarities. Hence their rather great degree of tolerance for the Christian converts and their retention of relations with them where it is possible.

[18] So my Kota informant quoted in *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 105.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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for short or longer periods has however been passed and with changed political conditions it is evident that the European population will suffer a decline. Well-to-do Indians have also felt the attractions, climatic or other, of the Nilgiri hill-stations: whether the climax of their migration has been reached it is difficult to say. The specific differences between the influences of Rivers' time and those of today are to be seen, not so much in the influence exerted on the hill cultures by the Europeans, as in the ever-increasing numbers of Indians from the plains, mostly low-caste Tamil and Kannada speakers who are agricultural laborers, but also Mohammedans from various areas, including Pashto-speaking money-lenders from the far north, as well as traders, especially Marwaris from the Bombay Presidency and Chettis from the Tamil area.

It will throw some light on the nature of Toda culture if an attempt is made to assess the effects of these various influences on the life of the Todas, insofar as there has been an effect. A general examination of changes that have taken place in Toda culture since Rivers' time will also be of value, both in itself and as providing evidence by which some of Rivers' hypotheses may be evaluated. The treatment may be divided into three major sections—economic life, social organization, and religion. At some points a comparison may usefully be made between the state of Toda culture at the present time and the state of the Kota and the Badaga cultures in the corresponding departments.

The economic life of the Todas is that department which has felt the impact of outside influences most strongly. The basis on which the economic life is founded is the herds of buffaloes. A great part of the diet of the tribe is made up of milk, buttermilk, and ghee. In this respect incidentally they offer a marked contrast to most of the south Indian communities, among whom cattle-products are too frequently neglected as a source of nourishing food. Besides this, the Todas require grain-food and of these rice and millet are the chief. In the days before the hills were opened up, grain was acquired from the Badagas chiefly, and the method, still followed, was for a Toda to go to the Badaga village with which his sib was connected and levy contributions, so much from each house. Rice seems to have been obtained

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is remarkable when we consider that the interchange between Badagas and Kotas has broken down almost entirely. This latter break-down however is primarily due to religious changes in the Badaga community. One of the main services supplied by Kotas to Badagas was music at funerals. The majority of the Badagas have reformed their customs in this respect and no longer requiring music and having a convenient source of tools and pots at hand in the bazaars, this section of the Badagas has repudiated with some heat all connexions with the Kota community, especially as the Kotas by expanding their agricultural activities and aspiring to a higher status in the hierarchy of the tribes of the hills have come into quarrelsome conflict with the Badagas. That the Todas have not broken off relations with the Kotas is probably due primarily to their adherence to the old system of acquiring tools and pots and to their desire for the Kota music at funerals. Even this latter item may arise in the future as a source of conflict, since the anti-music tendency of the Badagas has begun to infect the Kotas, or at least one of their most articulate reformers. He is however at present an object of great suspicion to the conservative members of the Kota community and it is improbable that the Todas will be deprived of their funeral music until a fairly remote future. The two tribes do not come into economic conflict, as do the Badagas and the Kotas, nor do Kota caste-aspirations bring them into conflict with the Todas, who as the highest ranking aboriginal community of the hills are immeasurably above the Kotas in their own estimation and look upon the Kota aspirations, if they pay any attention to them at all, with a lordly disdain. My Kota informant, the above-mentioned reformer, has also observed to me rather pathetically that the Todas are a friendly people while the Kotas are quarrelsome, and it is probable that this lordly condescension of the Todas keeps the Kotas on friendly terms with them, while the pushing, *nouveau riche* attitude easily observed in the Badagas antagonises a caste like the Kotas who having a relatively low position yet do not feel themselves much inferior to the Badagas and certainly will not openly admit any inferiority.

The land basis of Toda economic life is pasturage for the herds. This has been affected adversely by the influx of immi-

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177 233 423 grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land 177 233 425 from the Todas. The sib of the mɨkitjo:ɭ (Rivers' Pam; for details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the [614] pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:ʂo:ɭ and melga:-ʂo:ɭ lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pastu- [311] rages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-plantations or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the highest grade (the ti:-dairies), one of the ka:ʂo:ɭ sib, the other of [797] the mɵ:ʂo:ɭ sib, which had not been used for a number of years, were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two pasturages of the ti: of the ka:ʂo:ɭ sib were sold to Government [614] and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold [682] when the sib of the ka:ʂo:ɭ were in need of a large sum of money to settle parkumɵ's liability in the suicide of nɵrnmɵ. In general,

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the impression is gained that if Government did not keep a close watch on Toda land, either from a concern for Toda welfare or from a desire to preserve the amenities of the Nilgiris, and prevent the free play of economic pressure, the pastures would soon all be alienated, or at any rate to such an extent that the economic life of the Todas would be severely prejudiced. Toda economic life is to this important extent artificially hedged off from the interference of outside influences and preserved from total disruption. Sir Athelstane Baines' remark that the Todas are "stall-fed aborigines" is in this respect entirely justified. [1]

The Toda Amelioration Scheme was mentioned above in connexion with the payment of Toda debts. The other chief feature of the plan was to induce the Todas to grow potatoes and to work this agricultural enterprise and the sale of their ghee through two cooperative societies. The advantages of the Scheme appealed to a number of the chief men, and some of the superficial benefits made a remarkable appeal to less responsible Todas as a method of getting something for nothing. The scheme broke down on its really vulnerable point. The Todas are pastoralists with no tradition of agriculture and the continuous back-breaking labor it demands, and the attempt to make agriculturalists of them while their own pastoral occupation was still in full working order could not with any confidence have been expected to succeed. [2] Those few who personally engaged themselves in the work found that it went so against their habits that two years of it were more than enough. The majority merely hired outsiders to do the manual labor for them, or sold the seed-potatoes and tools that were advanced to them by the societies. No trace of the Scheme now remains.

Casual employment as beaters for English sportsmen brings in a small, irregular income to a few Todas. The Maharaja of Mysore each year engages fifteen men of the tribe to act as an ornamental bodyguard at his palace in Ootacamund. Some few

[1] Sir Athelstane Baines *Ethnography (Castes and Tribes.)* [Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II. 5], 125. [113]

[2] See also the Census officer in 1931 (reference in note 1) for the same judgment on the scheme.

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the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota temple areas.

Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with River's accounts.

Since Rivers' time one sib of the to:rθaʂ moiety has come near extinction, viz. the nirjo:ɻ found in Rivers' genealogical tables 40–43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called kumʉ (pp. 542–4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new poːlm division (pp. 544–6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished.

In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change.

The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poɔ:ɨ, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the ti:. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nódrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nódrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nódrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the tõuθmṭ and the tõunoːṭ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

[1] This ceremony, the mɲɔːkɨmɛt, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. kaːɣõm, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying hõː at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as nɛːɲ, after it as mɲ.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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(11) PERSHRÖRSHWUTN, abbreviated to PERSHRÖRSH: The eldest boy of the family, and very conscious of it. He is quiet, self-confident and has a reputation of being "good with buffaloes", of which he is noticeably proud. He likes to go out to other munds, and to take the Melgarsh animals to graze in distant places, so that he is not very often at the *mad*. He always walks about with a stick, the symbol of his activities as a herdsman. 159 621 233

(12) NARJILKHWUTN, abbreviated to NARJILKH: Always busy about the house, where I usually found him cutting wood; he also looks after the calves, it being his special job to take them out in the morning and put them back in the pens in the evening. He is quiet and thoughtful and apparently specially friendly with Munbokwutn, his youngest father.

(13) Pengelam: A sweet little girl, with whom I was especially friendly. She is gay and playful, and is nearby always in the company of Narjilkh. She loves to muse to herself, to play imitating games, to sing and tell stories to the twins. She also likes to show off to people like myself, laughing and giggling when she plays at nursing her younger brother like a mother. She adores going for drives with me in the car, and cried her eyes out when I left the Nilgiris. 159 621 [123]

(14) SODUP: An extraordinary little boy for his age. He is exceptionally bright and intelligent and can speak fluently his own language. He is the spoilt darling of the whole family, often performing to a whole circle of grown-ups, who go into fits of laughter over the things he says. He is quite aggressive too, threatening his mother with disembowelment, and assuring everyone that he can manage the calves just as well as Narjilkh. He obviously derives much pleasure from taking advantage of the privileges Toda men enjoy, strutting with great satisfaction beyond the stone which marks the limit of where women may go in the direction of the dairy-temple, and where his twin sister must stop. [855]

(15) Sodam: She is as dull and backward as Sodup, her twin brother, is bright. I was unable to make out if this was congenital or due to different upbringing and the lower status of women among the Todas. She is very shy indeed and would hardly ever let me get close to her without starting to cry. She can hardly speak, and only very rarely opens her mouth, usually just sitting by her mother and staring with great round eyes at what goes on around her, and looking quickly away if any notice is taken of her.

(16) PETEROZN: Called after me (*Rozn* being Toda for Raja = Prince) who am his godfather, having taken that role at his name-giving ceremony. He is only a baby in arms, born two weeks after I arrived [123] [551]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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in the Nilgiris in 1949, and spends his time wrapped up in his mother's *putkuli*, where he happily sucks her breast to his heart's content.

(17) Unnamed girl: She, the twin of Peterozn, lived only twelve days.

(18) SINGARSH: A great, black-bearded Toda, he stalks about, long and lean, swathed in his *putkuli*, nearly always watching the family's buffaloes. He is silent and serious and appears to be very conservative. He takes snuff and rarely goes to the bazar, his usual sorties being reserved for the visiting of other *mads*. He is very fond of Sodup and often takes him out with him, wrapped up under his cloak, perched on his left forearm. He has been seen to laugh heartily at times – although this is rare – at the things that Sodup says.

(19) SINGUD: Also of the silent type, he is a good-looking man, clean-shaven except for a short moustache. He is a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department, and is usually in uniform and away on duty from Melgarsh. When he does come home, he immediately dons the Toda *putkuli* and lends a hand with bringing in the buffaloes or taking them out.

(20) Amoniwuf: The common wife of the two brothers above. She is always busy with the household, if not her own, then that of Silidz, whom she helps a lot. She has a cicisbeo, a Teivilkh of Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol* who comes to see her regularly, he having been accepted by the husbands.

(21) MOTSOD: A very lazy man. He spends his days sleeping either in front of the house or on the grass before it. He is middle-aged, handsome, with a fine grey beard and light coloured eyes, but so apathetic that it is really surprising. He occasionally puts in a spell as a priest at the *mad*'s *tarvali*, but never for long. He also sometimes accompanies the boys on grazing expeditions with the buffaloes (when they migrate to other more distant grazing grounds), but very quickly returns to loll about the precincts of the *mad*.

(22) Isam: His wife, a colourless woman, who keeps very much in the background and consorts principally with Odzel and Silidz.

(23) PILKHLIVOWUTH: A rather sheepish, shy young man, in his early twenties, who is also a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. He is not often at the *mad*, as his duties appear to keep him very busy. He seems just as slow as his father, although slightly more active. He usually has a silly grin on his face; he is clean-shaven with a downy, budding moustache.

(24) KIRSHARFWUTH: A very young fellow, about the age of Pershrörsh, and is a great friend of the latter. The two of them delight in

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*.

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family.

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (underclothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal.

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese AX4
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carefully, because it provides an excellent example of how linguistic marriage categories systematic among themselves can be used in the organization of sexual and marital relations in a community. This has already been amply demonstrated for Ceylon. I shall argue that the Todas are in the same position. To put it quite directly, in these systems marriage and sexual relations are organized by linguistic kinship categories and not by any kind of exogamous lineages. Lineages and unilineal descent are secondary features and may or may not be found in conjunction with cross-cousin marriage rules.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall be concerned with an examination of the structural model constructed on the basis of Ceylonese evidence in certain South Indian contexts. I intend to demonstrate, first, that the same general structure applies in a large number of documented cases in South India irrespective of the patrilineal or matrilineal descent rules. Second, I shall attempt to demonstrate that special developments of unilineal descent have the same effect as in Ceylon—that is, they lead into hypergamy. In the limiting case, each unilineage turns into a ritual status group. Since the material, though abundant, is extremely uneven and at first sight quite confusing, I hope to further our understanding of these interesting structures. Let us now consider the Toda evidence.

THE TODAS

The Todas, though one of the classic tribes of anthropology, have been neglected in recent years. They inhabit the Nilgiri Hills, and from the first arrival of the Portuguese in the East Indies have excited curiosity and speculation. They inhabit a region populated by the Badaga (Cultivators), Kota (Funeral Musicians), and Kurumba (Sorcerers?). The largest section of the population is Badaga. The Toda numbered only 800 individuals at the time of Rivers' field work.

Rivers suggested that they were divided into two moieties; they could also be said to have two ritual groups: the Toda proper (*to:rdas*, see Emeneau) and the section of their priest, the *deva* (god) people (pronounced as *tevaliol*).[2]

They are pastoralists, and buffalo milk, apart from being very sacred, is one of the mainstays of their diet. All their lives and important institutions revolve around the buffalo. In their emergence myths, they come out of a hole in the ground holding onto buffalo tails! The Todas are created with their buffaloes, and the buffaloes, like

[2] See also D. Mandelbaum (1938). Mandelbaum describes how among the Kotas the priests do not belong to a separate division but are treated in such a way as to be cut off from the rest of Kota society. The Todas appear to have carried the distinction one step further.

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the preparation of the various milk products are also relegated to the special priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products; in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that, just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry, polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "public" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can